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THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND  
EXPECTATIONS: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF EDMONTON  
JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

by



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A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "The Social Context of Educational Aspirations and Expectations: an Exploratory Study of Edmonton Junior High School Students", submitted by Keith Locke in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.







## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore the social context of educational aspirations and expectations of junior high school students in terms of a model which defines the adaptational alternatives which present themselves to students in the school system.

A questionnaire was administered to a sample of students in four Edmonton junior high schools; and in different streams within those schools. From the model were derived the main hypotheses, which predicted that expectations would be influenced mainly by the social class and academic status of the individual students, and aspirations by the social class and academic status climate of the schools and streams.

The results of a multivariate analysis of the questionnaire responses only partially confirmed these main hypotheses. It appeared that the social class and academic climate of the school (or the community in which it is situated) had a significant effect on educational aspirations, but that the streaming process within the school operated to lower the educational expectations and academic self-assessment of students in the lower streams, particularly those from working class homes.

It was concluded that there was an incongruence between the educational aspirations and expectations of many working



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class students, which could grow if structural changes in the school system were not forthcoming.



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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### Social Class and Opportunity Structures.

It is commonplace to say that working class students, compared with middle class students, are at an educational disadvantage in the modern school system. Working class youth exhibit poorer educational performance, lower measured intelligence, and lower educational aspirations and expectations and they are over-represented amongst school dropouts.

Factors which are often cited as contributing to this educational disadvantage are economic problems, a less academic character of the working class life style, and the middle class nature of the school system. These and other influences combine to delimit what can be called the educational opportunity structure of working class youth. The nature of the similarities and differences between this opportunity structure and that of the middle class is central to a study of the ramifications of social class in the educational system.

Any comparison of opportunity structures must have a fixed point of reference, a success goal, which is



generally the success goal of the dominant culture; the 'middle class' culture. If these success goals are attributable to the whole society, or at least to the segments under study, then it is relatively easy to compare opportunity structures. In applying social class theory to delinquency Merton often makes this assumption.<sup>1</sup> He believes that youth of all social classes have very similar success goals, but that opportunity structures vary widely, often forcing those who are at a competitive disadvantage to use illegitimate means to attain those goals. However, we are concerned with educational success goals and it appears doubtful that these can be reached by illegitimate means.

If success goals vary amongst the population, a comparison of opportunity structures becomes more complex. A person's opportunity structure can then be analysed in terms of its relation to his own success goal, the success goals of others, or the dominant goals of the groups, organizations, or society of which he is a member. Those who have vastly different opportunity structures may have a similar degree of success relative to their own distinctive goals. For example, one high school student may value a university degree, whereas another may desire a high school diploma. If both attain their goals one might say that they have achieved similar success.

Another complicating factor is that the goals of a



person constitute part of his opportunity structure, in the sense that they represent a motivational element.<sup>2</sup> This is also true for 'aspirations' (which are central to this study), which refer to both the goal and the wish to attain it. While it is difficult to disentangle the influence of aspirations from that of other factors which determine educational attainment, research has shown that those with low aspirations tend to drop out of the school system early.<sup>3</sup> In addition, expectations have a motivational character, as they represent a subjective perception of one's own opportunity structure. If expectations are high (i.e. the opportunities appear favourable) they will probably be associated with motivation toward a high success goal. As a converse to this we can state that it is unlikely that someone will strive very hard toward a goal he does not expect to attain and those who combine low expectations with high aspirations are likely to fatalistically resign themselves to a failure to achieve success goals.

Most sociologists in this area take as their starting point the variation of opportunity structures in relation to the dominant goals of the culture. This is certainly true for sociologists of education, as testified by the interminable use of the 'equality of educational opportunity' concept.<sup>4</sup> Variation in success goals themselves is seen as a response to this situation of differ-





ential opportunity (relative to cultural success goals), forcing those who are disadvantaged to lower their goals, or somehow make them more appropriate to their own life situation. At this point we enter an extensive literature on 'subcultures', which can refer to delinquents, students, youth, or people of all ages, but all of them tied very closely to social class.<sup>5</sup>

Many sociologists, mostly in the delinquency field, have attempted to develop a theoretical explanation of the relations between social class, aspirations, and the opportunity structures in society. Cohen,<sup>6</sup> Cloward and Ohlin,<sup>7</sup> and Merton<sup>8</sup> have analysed the social consequences of the discrepancy between aspirations for culturally-defined success goals and the realistic possibilities of achieving them by culturally legitimate means.<sup>9</sup> This discrepancy, of course, is greatest amongst members of the working class. There are a number of possible ways the working class generally, and individuals in it, can attempt to solve this problem.

The working class in general can adapt by creating a distinct working class culture or, as Miller puts it, a culture with its own set of 'focal concerns.'<sup>10</sup> But this working class culture does not contain only values distinct from, or opposed to, the values of the dominant culture, the middle class culture. Some values are common to both, although there are usually variations in emphasis. In



this regard Turner distinguishes between subculture (or class consciousness) and culture variation (or prestige identification).<sup>11</sup> The former states that each class is to some degree a self-contained universe with its own distinctive set of values, and the latter that there is a general uniform system of values throughout a society and that class values are just variations on a society wide scheme. The extent to which these features are present in any given society is treated as an empirical question.

Within the working class, the gap between middle class success goals and the possibility of attaining them can lead to the three following adaptational possibilities (which I have taken from Miller).<sup>12</sup>

- a. A 'stable' lower class adaptation, with low aspirations and expectations. Cohen, referring to Whyte's study, calls this the stable 'corner boy' response.<sup>13</sup> It represents that part of the working class which 'successfully' adapts to middle class society as it exists. Working class success goals are developed to fit existing working class opportunity structures.
- b. A successfully aspiring lower class adaptation, made up of a minority of that class which has the will and the capacity to be upwardly mobile. This means that the opportunity structures are, in these cases, sufficient for the achievement of middle class success goals.



- c. An aspiring, but conflicted, lower class adaptation, composed of those with high aspirations who lack personal attributes or cultural equipment necessary for the achievement of middle class goals. This consequence, due to the degree of similarity between middle class goals and those held by much of the working class (representing what Turner calls 'prestige identification') gives such members of the working class serious problems. They are forced to either accept their fate, or orient towards a change in the whole working class opportunity structure.

From this schema flow a number of questions which are central to an investigation of educational aspirations and expectations. For example, in what situations will working class students adhere to a 'stable' working class culture with low aspirations and expectations? When will a working class student gain, or a middle class student lose, the academic attributes or cultural equipment which engender successful aspirations toward educational advancement?

We are here concerned with the articulation of middle class culture with working class culture, and its importance for educational aspirations and expectations in the school system. The following description of theoretical developments will focus on education, though the same problem could also be dealt with in other empirical





areas.

### Social Class, Expectations, Aspirations and the School

The evidence from previous research indicates that in schools drawing from working class communities, as compared with those drawing from middle class communities, students have lower aspirations and expectations, for all social class levels within the school.<sup>14</sup> Delinquency rates vary in a similar manner. A delinquency study by Clark and Wenninger, which compared communities of different social class compositions, showed that there were significant differences in delinquency rates; the highest rate being present in the predominantly working class community. But within each community there were no significant differences in delinquency rates across social classes. They concluded that in those particular communities the predominant social class determined the delinquency rate for the whole community and that 'behaviour autonomy' was not present.<sup>15</sup> For behaviour autonomy to exist the urban area must be large, and contain a high (preferably concentrated) proportion of members of the class which is in the minority in the community. For example, within a large, working class area of a predominantly middle class community there will be more evidence of deviation from middle class life style and goals than in a community which is small and either very class heterogenous, or dominated al-



most entirely by one class. Behaviour autonomy will occur more often when those who are disadvantaged live and interact together and are forced to conclude that their whole opportunity structure is incompatible with the goals of the middle class community which surrounds them. In his study of the ambitions of youth, Turner finds that only in the lower class are groups of unambitious students really noticeable, although youth subcultures, with anti-academic values, tend to form in low middle class schools.<sup>16</sup>

Among those sociologists who have studied educational aspirations and expectations there has been considerable debate over the relationship between, and the relative importance of, 'contextual' variables (which operate, for example, at the level of the community, the school and the classroom) and 'individual' variables (which are characteristics of the individual student). Unfortunately, this has been almost exclusively a methodological debate, with little attention paid to its theoretical aspects. But in spite of this defect, it throws some light on the longstanding argument over the relative importance of social class versus intelligence for educational aspirations and expectations of students. This is the old nature-nurture argument dressed up in more sophisticated garb. Following, is a brief summary of this debate both before and after the introduction of the social class 'school climate' as an explanatory contextual variable.



Kahl<sup>17</sup> claims that Socio-Economic Status (SES) is twice as important as intelligence in the determination of educational aspirations, but Sewell et. al.<sup>18</sup> say that intelligence is three times as important as SES. In the centre stands Rogoff<sup>19</sup> who concludes from her research that both factors are approximately equal in their effect. It was not until research introduced the variable 'school climate' (a contextual variable) that a real attempt was made to resolve this conflict in findings. Wilson and Michael, whose research introduced this variable, found that the higher the academic status of the school, the higher were the college plans and aspirations of the students, for all SES and intelligence levels.<sup>20</sup> This new variable explained a significant amount of the variance in aspirations and expectations, although it interacted with SES and intelligence. This may account for the conflict in findings reported above. For example, Michael found that the SES contribution to the variance was greater than that of intelligence in the lowest school climate, but less in the highest climate. This finding is corroborated by Sewell and Armer.<sup>21</sup>

The Sewell and Armer study, one of the most sophisticated to date on social class school climates, demonstrated the effect on college plans of the social status of the school neighbourhood, the SES of individual students, intelligence and sex. They found that, compared with





individual intelligence and SES (which were of approximately equal importance) neighbourhood status contributed little to the variance, but both their analytical techniques and implicit causal model have been questioned by other writers.<sup>22</sup> Their critics accuse them of being concerned simply with prediction, and of ignoring the possibility that neighbourhood status is, in part, a determinant of individual intelligence and SES. Interaction effects have been extracted from the Sewell and Armer data by Boyle and they indicate that high-status neighbourhoods show considerably higher aspirations than middle-status neighbourhoods, for girls in particular, even though the data indicates that the differential effects of neighbourhood status on intelligence are more obvious between low and middle-status neighbourhoods.<sup>23</sup> He concludes that:

students living in high-status neighbourhoods plan on college more often than students in middle-status neighbourhoods in spite of the fact that they aren't smarter, while students in middle-status neighbourhoods don't plan on college more frequently than students in low-status neighbourhoods in spite of the fact that they are a little smarter. This suggests that neighbourhoods influence aspirations much more strongly through their 'normative' climate than through their effects on scholastic ability.<sup>24</sup>

The key problem, as Elesh sees it, is whether the contextual factors can be taken as causally prior to the individual factors or whether, on the contrary, there is self-selection of individuals into particular contexts.<sup>25</sup>





In the first case individual inhabitants are socialized into the community, and in the second case individuals tend to select communities (social contexts) appropriate to their status. Both effects will always be operative, to varying degrees. Elesh predicts that the contextual effects will be more evident in a stable suburb than a growing suburb, for both middle class and working class suburbs, and his results are consistent with this prediction. His rationale for the prediction is that in a stable suburb the social context has become well-established and penetrates the social life of the community, but this is not the case for a growing suburb. Turner, in his ambition study, discovered that 'prestige identification' is evident among all SES groups, especially in upper class schools, but some 'class consciousness', or what Clark and Wenninger would call behaviour autonomy - as represented by a cleavage in ambition patterns - is present in lower class schools.<sup>26</sup> The assumption so far has been that a middle class school climate forces working class students to internalise relatively high aspirations,<sup>27</sup> but others, such as Hollingshead,<sup>28</sup> describe how working class students, unable to fit into a middle class school, tend to reject it and leave early. This latter response should be less likely if the working class students constitute a dispersed minority in the school, rather than a cohesive group with their own subculture. In social class



polarised schools, which draw from the extremes of the social class continuum, the problem of school rejection by working class youth may become acute. It is rather difficult for any superficial survey research to inform us of the extent to which each of the two processes mentioned operate, because they tend to cancel each other out.

We would expect the academic climate of the school to be an important factor determining the 'academic attributes' necessary for successful educational aspirations and expectations but it is difficult to disentangle academic climate, per se, from social class climate, because they overlap considerably, and this is probably the reason why studies have seldom attempted to separate them in research on aspirations and expectations.

The process of ability grouping, streaming or tracking within school grades has been the subject of much controversy, but, to my knowledge, only Elesh has analysed the effects of this process on educational aspirations and expectations.<sup>29</sup> Ability grouping, streaming and tracking are often synonyms for the same process although tracking, unlike the other two terms, typically refers to class divisions based on differences in curriculum or teaching methods. Those classes which cover the syllabus material quickly and move on to additional material are often called 'fast' tracks.<sup>30</sup> Ability grouping, streaming and tracking inevitably produce school classes with quite



different social class and academic ability compositions.

Elesh found that tracking, as an academic status contextual variable, operates only in working class communities, the low tracks depressing educational aspirations. He suggests that middle class student aspirations tend to reflect the parental pressure toward educational success, regardless of prior achievement, whereas parental encouragement of working class students is often conditional upon prior achievement in the educational sphere. British data too indicates that streaming depresses academic attainment and the development of intelligence among working class children.<sup>31</sup> As they pass through the school system, working class children collect, in increasing numbers, in the lower streams.<sup>32</sup> Ability grouping, streaming and tracking turn out to be a means by which all those with educational disadvantage (those with poor opportunities) are grouped together, and as there is a tendency for those who are disadvantaged to lower their success goals, then this problem is exacerbated by streaming. Miller's stable lower class situation should be most visible in the low streams.

The broader meaning of the effect of social class and academic ability on educational aspirations and expectations is better understood if we have some knowledge of job aspirations and the reasons which students have for leaving the educational system, because both are intimately connected with success goals and opportunity structures.





Studies have demonstrated that lower class students, who tend to have low aspirations and expectations, place more emphasis on the material problems involved in continuing education.<sup>33</sup> Turner finds that lower class students in lower class schools tend to have a material, rather than a purely educational ambition. This is associated with a 'vocational' orientation, including a desire for vocational courses in school.<sup>34</sup> Together these factors may form important components of working class culture, and may act as substitutes for what are seen as the 'unrealistic' orientations of middle class culture.

The effects we have outlined in this section are generally more obvious among the female half of the population. Girls have lower aspirations than boys and, in particular, those who are of low SES<sup>35</sup> or academic ability.<sup>36</sup> Two studies show that boys' aspirations and expectations remain at much the same level throughout their high school careers, whereas aspirations of girls decline drastically in the higher grades.<sup>37</sup> The stable working class cultural response may be most clearly seen amongst working class girls in working class contexts. Among the working class the feeling persists that girls do not need an education, whereas middle class parents are increasingly demanding that their daughters get a good education, and a skilled or professional job.





### Aspirations versus Expectations.

One would expect, especially with the increasing value being placed on education, that a student's aspirations (or wishes) would generally be greater than his or her expectations. Kuvlesky points out that the interpretation and comparison of studies reported in the literature is bedevilled by a lack of recognition of this distinction.<sup>38</sup> He produces evidence to show that expectations are more closely related to existing opportunities than are aspirations.

Stephenson concludes his research paper with the following discussion of the social roots of the difference between aspirations and expectations.

Thus, the mobility orientation pattern suggested is one in which aspirations are relatively unaffected by class and, hence, reflect general cultural emphasis upon high goal orientations, while plans or expectations are more definitely class based and, hence, may reflect class differences in opportunity and general life chances.<sup>39</sup>

From this it follows that because academic ability and social class are components of a student's opportunity structure, which expectations reflect, they should have more influence on educational expectations than upon educational aspirations. It is more difficult to predict the influence of academic ability and social class (as contextual variables) on aspirations and expectations. In terms of behaviour autonomy, it would depend on the



size and social class composition of the community in which the school is situated. If the community is large and solidly working class a distinctive working class culture, with low aspirations (in addition to low expectations), may be apparent. If behaviour autonomy does not exist social class and academic contexts will affect only expectations, to the extent that differences in context exist. Rehberg studied occupational aspirations and expectations and presented evidence to suggest that although aspirations are significantly higher than expectations, individual social class has a similar effect on both.<sup>40</sup> To my knowledge, no similar research has been done using intelligence as the independent variable, but it may be expected to operate in a manner similar to the other component of the opportunity structure, social class.

### Conclusions

On the basis of the foregoing discussion we can draw the following inter-related conclusions.

- a. The dominant class structure of a community has an important influence on the level of aspirations and expectations of its inhabitants.
- b. These differing class based levels of aspirations and expectations are reflected in the educational system.
- c. Careful study of the dynamics of and variation in educational expectations and aspirations should pro-



vide some insight into the theoretical problem of social class and opportunity structures, and the practical problem of equal educational opportunity.





## FOOTNOTES

1. Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, New York: Free Press, 1957, Chapters IV and V.
2. For example Stephenson states that "mobility orientation refers to aspiration levels within the stratification system that may serve as points of motivation in competition for positions in the social structure." Richard M. Stephenson, "Mobility Orientation and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders." American Sociological Review, 22 (April, 1957), p. 204.
3. J. Kenneth Morland, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Mill and Town School Children in a Southern Community," Social Forces, 39 (December, 1960), pp. 169-175.
4. Such references to equality of educational opportunity range from J. E. Floud, A. H. Halsey and F. M. Martin, Social Class and Educational Opportunity, London: Heinemann, 1957; to Ronald G. Corwin, A Sociology of Education, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1965. p. 190.
5. The following contain references to subcultures: Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity, New York: The Free Press, 1960 (the delinquent subculture); James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society, New York: Free Press, 1961 (the adolescent subculture); Willard Waller, The Sociology of Teaching, New York: Wiley, 1932 (the student subculture); and Burton R. Clark, Educating the Expert Society, Chandler: San Francisco, 1962 Chapter 6. (the collegiate, vocational, academic and non-conformant subcultures).
6. Albert K. Cohen. Delinquent Boys. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1955.
7. Cloward and Ohlin, op. cit.
8. Robert K. Merton, op. cit., Chapters IV and V.
9. Another approach to the problem, a Freudian one, is outlined by Rubenfeld, but the author does not favour this approach, and it will not be included in the discussion. See Seymour Rubenfeld, Family of Outcasts, New York: Free Press, 1965.





10. Walter B. Miller, "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," Journal of Social Issues, 14 (April, 1959), pp. 5-19.
11. Ralph H. Turner, The Social Context of Ambition, San Francisco: Chandler, 1964, Chapter I.
12. W. C. Kvaraceus and W. B. Miller, Delinquent Behaviour: Culture and the Individual, Washington D.C.: National Education Association, 1959. p. 72.
13. Cohen, op. cit., p. 128-130.
14. Alan B. Wilson, "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspirations of High School Boys," American Sociological Review, 24 (December, 1959), pp. 836-845; and John A. Michael, "High School Climates and Plans for Entering College," Public Opinion Quarterly 25 (Winter, 1961), pp. 585-595; William H. Sewell, "Community of Residence and College Plans," American Sociological Review, 29 (February, 1964), pp. 24-38. Richard P. Boyle, "The Effect of the High School on Students Aspirations," American Journal of Sociology, 71 (May, 1966), pp. 628-639.
15. As we understand it, 'behaviour autonomy' occurs when certain behaviour (such as a complex of educational and occupational orientations), believed to be the expression of a certain social class, actually becomes the expression of that class; being distinct from the social class behaviour which predominates in that community or city. Two examples of the concept are working class behaviour autonomy in a community with an essentially middle class culture, and middle class behaviour autonomy in a working class community. See John P. Clark and Eugene P. Wenninger, "Socio-Economic Class and Area as Correlate of Illegal Behaviour Among Juveniles," American Sociological Review, 27 (December, 1962), p. 833.
16. Turner, op. cit., Chapter 5.
17. Joseph A. Kahl. "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of 'Common Man' Boys," Harvard Educational Review, 23 (Summer, 1953), pp. 186-203.
18. William H. Sewell, Archie Haller and Murray A. Strauss, "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspirations," American Sociological Review, 22 (February, 1957), pp. 67-73.



19. Natalie Rogoff, "Local Social Structure and Educational Selection," in A. H. Halsey, J. Floud and C. A. Anderson (eds.), Education, Economy and Society: A Reader in the Sociology of Education. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1966, pp. 241-251.
20. Wilson, op. cit.; Michael, op. cit.
21. William H. Sewell and J. Michael Armer, "Neighbourhood Context and College Plans," American Sociological Review, 31 (April, 1966), pp. 159-168.
22. Communications in the American Sociological Review, 31 (October, 1966). (Ralph H. Turner, "On Neighbourhood Context and College Plans (I)." pp. 698-702; John A. Michael, "On Neighbourhood Context and College Plans (II)," pp. 702-706; Richard P. Boyle, "On Neighbourhood Context and College Plans (III)," pp. 706-707; William H. Sewell and J. Michael Armer, "A Reply to Turner, Michael and Boyle," pp. 707-712); and Elesh, op. cit.
23. Boyle, op. cit.
24. Ibid., p. 707.
25. David Elesh, "Contexts and College Plans: Two Alternative Models," Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, California, August, 1967, pp. 1-16.
26. Turner, op. cit. pp. 122-137.
27. Robert A. Ellis and Clayton Lane, "Structural Supports for Upward Mobility," American Sociological Review 28 (October, 1963), pp. 743-756.
28. August B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1949, Chapter 13.
29. Elesh, op. cit.
30. Ibid., p. 12.
31. J. B. Douglas, The Home and the School, London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1964; and J. C. Daniels. "The Effects of Streaming in the Primary Schools: A Comparison of Streamed and Unstreamed Schools," British Journal of Educational Psychology, 31 (1961), pp. 119-127.





32. Brian Jackson, Streaming: an Education System in Miniature, London: Routledge and Kegan and Paul, 1964.
33. H. K. Scott and J. G. Lussier, Plans and Attitudes of High School Students (Background Studies for Resource Development in the Tweed Forest District of Ontario, Study No. 4). Guelph, Ontario. Ontario Agricultural College, Department of Agricultural Economics, 1963: R. W. Heath, M. H. Laier and H. H. Remmers. "What Does Youth Want From Educational Jobs?" Report of Poll No. 48 of the Purdue Opinion Panel, Division of Education Reference, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana, January, 1957.
34. Turner, op. cit., Chapter 7.
35. Sewell, "Community of Residence and College Plans," op. cit., pp. 24-38; and Leonard B. Siemens and J. E. Winston Jackson, Educational Plans and Their Fulfillment: A Study of selected high school students in Manitoba. University of Manitoba, Faculty of Agricultural Economics, Report No. 2, June, 1965.
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## CHAPTER TWO

### PROBLEM

#### Introduction to the Problem

From the theory and research discussed thus far we can formulate our problem and hypotheses. Broadly, we are concerned with the social context of educational orientations, and specific attention will be concentrated on the aspiration and expectation components, although other components, which are related to aspirations and expectations, will also be considered. These additional elements include academic self-assessment, the reason for leaving school, and job intentions.

The theoretical meaning of variations in aspirations and expectations was provided in the previous chapter, particularly in the work of Miller and Stephenson. Their work enables the material on aspirations and expectations to throw light on the problems of working class youth in middle class society. Miller (see Chapter I) provides three modes of working class adaptation to the middle class situation: the stable lower class; the successfully aspiring lower class; and the aspiring, but conflicted, lower class. The particular response which occurs varies accord-





ing to the social situation of the working class, and expectations and aspirations (which are tied in with the social situation) will vary accordingly. Stephenson states that aspirations are not subject to the same social pressures as expectations: i.e. that aspirations are particularly susceptible to changes in community context, and expectations to more immediate social class pressures. Thus, different combinations of aspirations with expectations indicate the presence of different working class adaptations.

### The Model

High SES and academic status are generally recognised to raise both expectations and aspirations (see Hypotheses 1 and 2), but this is only a general statement, and there are important differences in the extent to which aspirations rather than expectations are affected, and vice versa, depending on the units of SES and academic status operative.

Figure 1 sets out the four possible combinations of educational aspirations with educational expectations, and constitutes a classificatory scheme which, derived from the theory we have discussed, gives rise to the key hypotheses to be tested (see Hypotheses 3-8). The cells representing the four combinations of high and low aspirations with high and low expectations contain information



on the social conditions likely to produce these combinations. High expectations are connected with the 'individual' variables (high SES and high academic status) and, for the purposes of the model, it has been assumed that high aspirations are produced by high values of the 'contextual' variables, both SES and academic status. (The contextual units used in the model are those used in the study: the school, and streams within the school.)<sup>1</sup>

Whether contextual variables do, in fact, influence aspirations more than expectations depends largely on the extent of behaviour autonomy present among social classes in the city. If certain communities (as represented by school districts) have a degree of cultural distinctiveness or behaviour autonomy the contextual effect on aspirations should be noticeable. However, it appears on the surface that rigid cultural stratification is absent in the city to be studied (Edmonton) so that each social class should exhibit instances on each of the four adaptations represented by the four cells in Figure 1. Hypotheses 5 and 6 put these predictions about the effects of individual and contextual variables (which are derived from the model) into a testable form, and Hypotheses 7 and 8 put them even more concretely, in terms of relationships between student, stream and school.

Cell I represents the stable middle class response or the successfully aspiring working class response; cell



FIGURE 1

THE SOCIAL BASES OF VARIOUS COMBINATIONS OF EDUCATIONAL  
ASPIRATIONS WITH EXPECTATIONS

	High Expectations	Low Expectations
High Aspirations	- high individual SES or academic status	- low individual SES or academic status
	- high stream or school SES or academic status	- high stream or school SES or academic status
	1	2
Low Aspirations	- high individual SES or academic status	- low individual SES or academic status
	- low stream or school SES or academic status	- low stream or school SES or academic status
	3	4



2 represents the aspiring, but conflicted, working class response; cell 3 the low aspiring, conflicted, middle class response; and cell 4 the stable working class response.

### The Hypotheses

Firstly, we can construct some general hypotheses concerning well-substantiated relations between, on the one hand, socio-economic status and academic status (as both individual and contextual variables), and on the other hand, educational aspirations and expectations.

Hypothesis 1: The higher the SES of the student, school or stream, the higher the expectations and aspirations.

Hypothesis 2: The higher the academic status of the student, school or stream, the higher the expectations and aspirations.

From these we can construct more specific hypotheses to explain cell 1 (the stable middle class adaptation and the successfully-aspiring working class adaptation) and cell 4 (the stable working class adaptation), in that order.

Hypothesis 3: A high SES or academic status student in a high SES or academic status school or stream, will have high expectations and aspirations.





Hypothesis 4: A low SES or academic status student in a low SES or academic status school or stream, will have low expectations and aspirations.

To explain the other two cells we must make two additional hypotheses.

Hypothesis 5: The individual variables (both SES and academic status) affect expectations more than aspirations.

Hypothesis 6: Contextual variables (both SES and academic status) have more effect on aspirations than do individual variables.

The following two hypotheses explain cell 2 (the aspiring but conflicted, working class adaptation) and cell 3 (the low aspiring, conflicted, middle class adaptation).

Hypothesis 7: A low SES or academic status student in a high SES or academic school or stream, will have high aspirations, but expectations will remain low.

Hypothesis 8: A high SES or academic status student in a low SES or academic status school or stream will have low aspirations but expectations will remain relatively high.

The level of education students deem necessary to get a reasonable job (which constitutes a projective measure



of an educational success goal) should vary like educational aspirations. Both job intentions and academic self-assessment relate to educational expectations and should vary in a similar manner.

Tied in by theory to the preceding hypotheses are the reasons students have for leaving the educational system. The following hypothesis is derived from this theory.

Hypothesis 9: The lower the SES of a student, school or stream, the higher the frequency of financial concern or a negative orientation toward the school given as a reason for leaving school.

In addition, educational expectations should be more 'realistic' than educational aspirations, in terms of school retention rates. Boys will have higher aspirations and expectations than girls, particularly in the higher grades, and the hypotheses stated so far should be more valid for girls than boys.

### Conclusion

Our first, and easiest task will be to attempt to verify some of the empirical relationships reported in the literature (as represented by our less complex hypotheses), but central to the study will be testing of the model or theoretical scheme which attempts to explain the manner



in which educational aspirations and expectations vary according to their social context.





## FOOTNOTES

1. 'Individual SES' refers to the socio-economic status or social class of individual students. We distinguish individual SES from 'contextual' SES, which refers to the SES of collectivities such as streams, schools, or communities. Whenever the terms school SES or stream SES are used they refer to 'contextual' rather than 'individual' measures. Besides individual and contextual SES measures there are individual and contextual academic status measures: academic status is a term which covers both academic ability (as measured by intelligence tests, etc.,) and academic performance (e.g. class grades). Both SES and academic status will be operationalised in the following chapter.



## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

#### Sampling

It was by sampling that we selected the social class and academic contexts which are central to the study and, thus, this process was very important.

The sample was chosen from a total population of Grade seven and Grade nine students in schools under the jurisdiction of the Edmonton School Board. This population included more than one grade level because we were interested in the manner in which educational aspirations and expectations develop and change as students move through the school system. We chose junior high school students for a number of reasons. The absence of any significant dropout at this level provided us with a population of students which covers the full range of social class. Most of the research to date has been concerned with students in more advanced grades, especially Grade Twelve, but more research needs to be done in the lower grades where educational aspirations and expectations are formed. The lower grades provide information, such as that on expectations towards high school courses, which Grade



Twelve students can not provide.

Four junior high schools were chosen for our sample: Westminister, Ottewell, Stratford, and Lawton. These schools are large and of similar size, each having between six and nine classes in both the seventh and the ninth grades. The size of the schools enabled us to select for the sample three classes in each grade in each school: i.e. a high, a medium and a low performance class. These classes were chosen by the principals of the schools concerned on the basis of known academic performance, and we checked this selection with intelligence test scores and academic averages given in school records.

The four schools were chosen to provide us with a wide range of social class school contexts. Data from the 1961 Canadian census, chiefly that on occupation and income, provided the information on which this selection was based.<sup>1</sup> We reduced the contaminating influence of ethnic origin by rejecting those schools which draw students from districts containing a very high proportion of immigrants. Westminister school represents a high social class context, Ottewell and Stratford a medium social class context, and Lawton a low social class context. Ottewell, a medium social class context school, was chosen for pre-testing the questionnaire used in the study.

In every class all students were included in the sample. In total, 490 students were used. See Table 1 for



TABLE 1

## THE STUDENT SAMPLE: SCHOOL, GRADE AND STREAM

	<u>Stream</u>			
<u>School and Grade</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Westminister J. H. S.</u>				
Grade seven	31	29	28	88
Grade nine	<u>26</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>77</u>
Total	57	59	49	165
<u>Stratford J. H. S.</u>				
Grade seven	33	27	29	89
Grade nine	<u>25</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>74</u>
Total	58	52	53	163
<u>Lawton J. H. S.</u>				
Grade seven	29	27	26	82
Grade nine	<u>27</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>80</u>
Total	56	54	52	162
Total Sample				<hr/> 490





information on the number of students in each class, grade and school.

### Questionnaire Construction and Administration

A questionnaire was constructed to provide information on educational aspirations and expectations, and a number of related variables, social class being the most important among them. The questionnaire contained questions on the occupation and education of the student's father, the educational aspirations and expectations of the parents as compared with those of the students, the level of education deemed necessary to get a reasonable job, job intentions, reasons for the students' future departure from the school system, and self-assessment of classroom academic performance.

The questionnaire was administered to the sample, by the author, in May and June of 1968. It was pre-tested on a sample of 160 students (three Grade Seven and three Grade Nine classes) at Ottewell Junior High School. On the basis of the pre-test results the questions were improved; in particular the questions on educational aspirations were made more comparable with those on educational expectations. (The final form of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix A.) In addition, the manner in which the questionnaire was verbally introduced to school classes was also improved.



The final questionnaire was administered to the remaining student sample in Westminister, Stratford, and Lawton junior high schools. The author conducted all the questionnaire administration himself, with as little interference from teachers as he was allowed. Hopefully this procedure provided a good control for the differences in administration which are particularly evident if a number of administrators are used. The total time of administration was between fifteen and twenty minutes, and most students were able to fill out the questionnaire in ten minutes. Prior to students beginning the questionnaire the administrator verbally introduced it. He pointed out that the questionnaire was anonymous (and not a test), and that the students should answer every question, as honestly as possible. With the aid of an example, the difference between educational aspirations and educational expectations was clarified. (See Appendix B for a copy of the verbal instructions.)

All students in the sample who were present the day the questionnaire was administered filled it out, giving a total sample of four hundred and ninety students. Unfortunately, some of the questions, such as that on father's education, were not answered by all students.

#### The Collection of Additional Information

We obtained additional information from Edmonton



School Board officials, principals, guidance officers and teachers.

From the principals we obtained information on the procedures by which students were sorted into different classes in the schools. The students' academic ability, intelligence, and school program were all contributing factors. Of particular importance was the extent of the difference between classes because, if differences are great, the within-school contextual factors would be expected to play an important role in determining aspirations and expectations.

We were interested in the characteristics the classes in the sample had, the differences between them and how they fitted into the overall pattern of school class differentiation. The principals were asked to select for our sample, the high, medium and low performance classes. The rationale for the selection was that of individual principals, but we obtained other information, objective information, in the form of intelligence test and academic performance scores.

Providing information to allow verification of our objective census and questionnaire data, principals and guidance officers gave their impressions of the social class composition of the school districts.

Information on academic context was obtained from the Edmonton School Board and the schools. The Edmonton





School Board provided 1967 Grade Nine departmental examination results for the three schools in the sample and for the school system as a whole. The schools provided academic ability test information, mostly relating to the Lorge-Thorndyke ability test. The Lorge-Thorndyke test has two sections; one concerning verbal ability and one concerning non-verbal ability, but for our comparisons we used only the verbal scores. Unfortunately, many of the Lawton Grade Nine scores were not Lorge-Thorndyke, but a mixture of a number of tests, the Leacock test being the most important. In spite of this all Lawton scores have been used to compute the mean scores for schools, grades and streams.

### Operationalising the Variables

First, we will deal with the operationalisation of concepts which have a subjective character, and for which the only indicators are questionnaire responses. Foremost among these are educational expectations and aspirations. Measurement of expectations involved asking students the high school courses they expect to enter, and the educational levels they expect to attain. Four pre-coded high school course alternatives were provided (matriculation, general, commercial and vocational) but, unfortunately, the 'general' course was not always understood, because it is not universally present in all high



schools. What we were most interested in was the university orientation (as represented by matriculation course choices) versus the vocational orientation (commercial and vocational courses)'. During statistical analysis the commercial and vocational courses were combined into one category. For educational levels, pre-coded answers from Grade Nine to University were provided and, again for the purposes of statistical analysis, Grades Nine to Twelve were treated together as one category: 'high school'.

Aspirations represent what a student would do if he were 'free to do whatever he wanted to'. The scales used were identical to those used for the expectation question, making it easy to compare expectations and aspirations. The same scale was used for the question which asked: "What level of education do you need today to get a reasonable job?" This is largely a projective measure of educational success goals, and it follows that its variations should be very close to those of aspirations.

Self-assessment of academic performance, relative to the rest of the student's class (or stream) is measured by asking him to place himself above average, average, or below average, in comparison to the rest of the students in his stream. In part, self-assessment should indicate academic ability, but it is also a projective measure of educational expectations and should vary accordingly.

It is quite difficult to provide theoretically mean-



ingful indicators for the reasons given for leaving school, because conceptual distinctions between these 'reasons' are not clear. Any single reason appears to be often mentioned in the same sentence as one or a number of other reasons. It was because of this initial lack of conceptual clarity, and a desire not to force a particular response, that the question was left open-ended in the questionnaire. The categorisation agreed upon for coding was as follows:

- a. a job orientation.
- b. a financial orientation.
- c. a negative orientation toward the school system (including academic problems.)

However, even the distinction between a job orientation, and a negative orientation toward the school system is hard to justify because they both may be a product of a belief that one must leave the school system if one is to fully express independence and maturity. Consequently, attention to reasons for leaving the education system was focussed on the financial orientation, which is important for theoretical considerations. If more than one 'main' reason was given for leaving the educational system, indication of a financial orientation was given priority in the coding process.

Operationalisation on the social class (SES) variable took more than one form, both as an individual and as a contextual variable. As an individual variable the main





indicator was father's occupation, coded according to slightly modified categories of a United States Census scale.<sup>2</sup> The five occupational categories used in the scale were:

- a. Professional and Technical
- b. Managers, Officials and Proprietors
- c. Clerical and Sales
- d. Craftsmen and Foremen
- e. Semi-skilled and Unskilled workers.

There were no farmers' children in the sample and only about two students had farm job intentions, so no separate category was introduced to accommodate them. This nominal scale of occupations was transformed into a dichotomous, ordinal scale by collapsing occupational categories in the following manner. The two categories Professional and Technical, and Managers, officials and Proprietors, were combined into a new category called 'middle class', which corresponds to what Marx would call the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie. The remaining categories, Clerical and Sales, Craftsmen and Foremen, and Semi-skilled and Unskilled workers, were combined to form a 'working class' category of both blue and white collar workers. This simplification of the scale permits more accurate statistical analysis, because it increases cell frequencies and provides us with an ordinal variable. A question on the level of education attained by the student's father provided a supplementary





indicator of social class.

Contextual measures at the level of the school and classroom were provided by grouping the questionnaire data on the occupation of the students' fathers, to produce percentages of middle class versus working class students in each context. As indicated in the section on sampling, schools were chosen on the basis of Canadian Census information on the social class of the school districts.

We could use academic status only as a contextual measure because the anonymity of the questionnaire ruled out meaningful use of individual measures for comparative purposes. As a contextual measure we used the mean Lorge-Thorndyke verbal ability scores to compare schools, grades and streams. The problems of reliability and validity associated with the Lorge-Thorndyke, because it is taken at different ages, etc., mean that we should beware of using it as an accurate measure of academic context. But these scores do provide an indication of the academic order of the schools and streams and a means by which we can compare the academic status differences between pairs of streams and schools. The reliability of our judgement of the academic status of the schools was improved by reference to another measure, the 1967 Grade Nine examination results for each school.

### Data Analysis

After all the questionnaire information had been



coded, it was punched on to computer cards. A standard computer programme (Cros-4) was used to produce cross-tabulations, chi-square values, and measures of association.<sup>3</sup>

On the basis of the results of the initial cross-tabulations we selected some variables for closer study and rejected others. The variables selected for closer study were subject to further analysis with the Cros-4 computer program, although this time up to three control variables were introduced.

The significance of the differences evidenced in the relations of one variable with another, for two-way ordinal comparisons, we portrayed by gammas.<sup>4</sup> The relative impact of each of the independent variables on each of the dependent variables was gauged by Coleman's multivariate analysis technique for dichotomous independent variables.<sup>5</sup> This technique requires the percentages, for each possible combination of the independent variables under consideration, of students responding in a certain way on the particular dependent variable. In this manner we sorted out the relative importance of the independent variables, both contextual (school and stream) and individual (social class and sex), for each dependent variable (particularly educational aspirations and expectations). Finally we investigated the manner in which aspirations and expectations related to one another under different combinations



of contextual and individual variables.

Some idea of the realism of educational aspirations and expectations was obtained by comparing the frequency of students entering the various high school courses in 1967 with the frequency of aspirations and expectations towards these courses demonstrated in the sample. Information on these courses was obtained from the high school which the junior high schools of the sample feed. These are Ross Shephard Composite High School (Westminister), Jasper Place Composite High School (Stratford), and Eastglen Composite High School (Lawton). Unfortunately, information on the proportion of students who normally go on to university, and technical or business colleges, was not available.





## FOOTNOTES

1. The census data used in sampling is derived from various bulletins of the 1961 Census of Canada, (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics). Some of the data used in the tables was developed from the original census data by the University of Alberta Population Research Laboratory. Additional computation was done by the author. The data covers the occupation, family income, and education for the Census Tracts which make up the school districts, and for Edmonton as a whole. In addition, there is information on the average wage of males for Enumeration Areas, which are smaller census units. These latter figures are particularly important for Stratford Junior High School because Census Tract boundaries do not coincide with its school district boundaries, and this is a source of error. Enumeration Area data is much more appropriate for Stratford.
2. Bureau of the Census, Methodology and Scores of Socio-economic Status, Working Paper No. 15, Washington: Department of Commerce, 1960.
3. D. Flathman, The Cros-4 Program, Edmonton: University of Alberta, Department of Sociology, July, 1968.
4. Gamma is a statistical measure that predicts the direction of order and how consistently this order is reproduced. It is, therefore, a measure of the degree of association between ordinal variables, such as those used in this study. For further information see: Morris Zelditch, Jr., A Basic Course in Sociological Statistics, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966, pp. 181-187.
5. Coleman's multivariate technique allows expression of the relations between a number of independent variables and a dependent variable in terms of a single parameter for each independent variable. These parameters are derived from percentage scores for each possible combination of independent variables. For further information see: James S. Coleman, An Introduction to Mathematical Sociology, London: The Free Press, 1964, pp. 189-213.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### FINDINGS

This chapter will present and explain the major findings of the questionnaire study. The results which are most critical for our theory will be elaborated upon in a later chapter on implications. This chapter seeks to extract and emphasise the major results, most of which are portrayed in the tables, relating them to the hypotheses, and the model from which these hypotheses were derived.

#### Social Class and Academic Status Contexts.

Tables 2 to 5 provide information on the SES and academic status profile of the city, the school districts, the schools themselves, and the streams.

Table 2 shows that Westminster school district has the highest SES, and Lawton the lowest, for all census indicators used, i.e., the percentage of professional, technical and managerial occupations, the average family wage and salary income, and the extent of high school education. For Westminster school district 39% of the population is in the upper occupational bracket, though the proportion is only 11% for the Lawton district. The ques-



tionnaire responses regarding father's occupation provide confirmatory information on the social class context of the schools, plus information on stream context. The highest percentage of middle class students (69%) is in the top stream of the medium school, whereas the figure for the low stream of the low SES school is 12%, (see Table 3). Our low SES school, Lawton Junior High School, is certainly a working class school, containing less than half the proportion of middle class students that the other two schools contain.

In the first chapter it was noted that it is difficult to separate the social class context of schools and streams from the academic context because the two vary in a similar manner and are causally inter-related. For academic context, we have both Grade nine examination results and Lorge-Thorndyke verbal ability test scores. It is Grade nine results which most accurately reflect the schools' academic status because students from all Grade nine classes in the schools have their results used in the computation of the stanine distribution. Table 4 demonstrates that Westminister Junior High School has an above average academic context, Stratford a slightly below average context, and Lawton a context which is much below average.<sup>1</sup> Thus, for schools, social class context and academic context vary together. Table 5 displays the variation in Lorge-Thorndyke scores across stream and school,





but the scores for schools are too incomplete for our purposes. Though there is not much difference between medium and low streams in terms of the mean Lorge-Thorndyke scores these two streams are generally more than ten points below those of the high streams. This pattern is also seen in the social class distribution, given in Table 3, where the proportion of middle class parents for those in the high streams is 49%, but only 28% and 18% for medium and low streams respectively.

When controlling for three variables simultaneously, we were faced with a problem of small cell frequencies, which could only be overcome by collapsing categories. Consequently, we transformed the school and stream trichotomies into dichotomies by collapsing the most similar categories for both school (the high and low categories) and stream (the low and medium categories). The new categories for each variable are labelled High and Low and this categorisation has been used for all the multivariate analyses, represented by Table 8 and later tables.

The overlap of academic status with socioeconomic status is such that both schools and streams are either of both high SES and academic status, or low SES and academic status. To simplify terminology we shall talk only about low, medium and high context or status when referring to school and stream.





TABLE 2

SOCIAL CLASS CHARACTERISTICS OF EDMONTON  
AND THE THREE SCHOOL DISTRICTS

<u>Districts</u>	<u>Profession, Technical &amp; Managerial Occupations</u>	<u>Average Family Wage and Salary Income</u>	<u>High School Level of Education</u>
	%	\$	%
Westminster J.H.S. (N 4,912)	39	6,970	68
Stratford J.H.S. (N 9,887)	19	5,190	46
Lawton J.H.S. (N 2,943)	11	4,590	42
Edmonton Metropolitan Area (N 128,275)	23	5,360	53

Source: 1961 Census of Canada.



TABLE 3  
PERCENTAGE WITH MIDDLE CLASS PARENTS,  
BY SCHOOL AND STREAM

<u>School</u>	<u>Stream</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Low</u>	
High	54 (29)	46 (25)	17 (8)	40 (62)
Medium	69 (40)	22 (11)	26 (13)	41 (64)
Low	<u>23</u> (13)	<u>14</u> (7)	<u>12</u> (6)	<u>17</u> (26)
Total	49 (82)	28 (43)	18 (27)	32 (152)



TABLE 4

GRADE NINE DEPARTMENTAL EXAMINATION RESULTS FOR  
EDMONTON AND THE THREE SCHOOLS, 1967

<u>Examination Results - Aggregates</u>										
% at each stanine level										
<u>EDMONTON AND SCHOOLS</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
Westminster JHS (N215)	1	5	8	14	21	18	15	9	9	100
Stratford JHS (N194)	4	7	12	17	22	14	14	3	5	100
Lawton JHS (N145)	8	13	19	18	20	12	4	3	3	100
Edmonton Schools (N4917)	3	5	10	16	20	18	14	8	6	100





TABLE 5

MEAN LORGE-THORNDYKE VERBAL ABILITY SCORES  
FOR SCHOOL, GRADE AND STREAM

<u>School and Grade</u>	<u>Stream</u>			<u>Total*</u>
	<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Low</u>	
<u>Westminister J.H.S.</u>				
Grade Seven	123	123	103	117
Grade Nine	<u>128</u>	<u>110</u>	<u>106</u>	<u>120</u>
Total	125	117	104	118 (N 165)
 <u>Stratford J.H.S.</u>				
Grade Seven	124	111	106	115
Grade Nine	<u>120</u>	<u>110</u>	<u>105</u>	<u>**</u>
Total	122	111	106	** (N 163)
 <u>Lawton J.H.S.</u>				
Grade Seven	124	112	111	112
Grade Nine	<u>126</u>	<u>111</u>	<u>111</u>	<u>112</u>
Total	125	111	111	112 (N 162)

\* Totals are derived from all Grade Seven and Nine classes in the school, not just those in the sample.

\*\* Not available.



### Measuring Aspirations and Expectations

When the questionnaire was constructed, it was projected that expectations be compared with aspirations: questions 2 and 3 indicating the former, and 4 and 5 the latter. Sociologists have stressed the conceptual distinction between expectations and aspirations,<sup>2</sup> and it is obvious that unless this is clear to both the sociologist and the respondent, we cannot know what the empirical data really indicates. Thus, we gave the students clear, and somewhat repetitious instructions (with an example), underlined the words which indicated the two type of responses desired, and told them to read all the expectation and aspiration questions before beginning the questionnaire (see Appendices A and B). In spite of these precautions, aspirations, as measured by questions 4 and 5, differed little from the expectations these same students gave. The data in Table 6 produces a gamma measure of association between expectations and aspirations (measured by question 5) of .88. 83% of the students had aspirations which were identical with their expectations.

Because it was almost impossible to believe that expectations could be so closely related to aspirations it was assumed that the questions measure, in the main, either one or the other. For more than one reason, it was decided the expectation questions (questions 2 and 3) really measure expectations rather than aspirations. Firstly, the



TABLE 6

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS AND  
TWO MEASURES OF EDUCATION ASPIRATIONS

<u>Expectations</u>	<u>Aspirations*</u>			<u>Aspirations**</u>		
	High School	Tech or Business College	Uni- ver- sity	High School	Tech or Business College	Uni- ver- sity
High School	88	8	18	114	5	14
Tech or Busi- ness College	18	61	17	46	38	14
University	<u>15</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>255</u>	<u>145</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>87</u>
Total	121	77	290	488	89	115
			Gamma = .88			Gamma = .36

\* Measured by Question 5 (see Appendix A)

\*\* Measured by Question 9 (see Appendix A)



phraseology of the 'expect' questions was short and simple, and expectations seem to be more clear conceptually than aspirations. Perrucci raises the question of "whether it is possible to make fantasy choices that do in fact 'suspend' the effect of reality plans..."<sup>3</sup> This impression was also gained during the actual administration of the questionnaire. In addition, the variation of expectations with the independent variables (SES, school, and stream) is similar to that of other measures which one would expect to contain an expectation component, such as academic self-assessment and job intentions. As a measure of aspirations we used the level of education which the student deems necessary if one is to obtain a reasonable job (see Appendix A, Question 9). This question contains the same set of forced choice answers as the expectation question, making comparison between the two easy. It is clear that this question probes the educational success goals of the student, although not on a personal level. Therefore, this indicator gives somewhat different and lower values than a more personal measure would give: i.e. one can wish (aspire) for a university education while believing that only a high school education is necessary for one to get a reasonable job (our measure of aspirations).

This new measure produced values which were far from identical with the expectations produced by the same students, the gamma measure of association being .36. Of





course, one would not expect expectations to be totally unrelated to aspirations. Table 12 (Appendix C) shows that while 57% of the sample expects to go to university, only 24% believes that a university education is needed if one is to obtain a reasonable job. Only 6.7% of the total sample expected to fail to reach the level of education which they deemed necessary for a reasonable job. Thus, the students are quite confident about their future and do not expect to be real failures in society.

#### Variation in Educational Orientations: Initial Analysis

The initial analysis (the gamma analysis) provided a measure of the simple, uncontrolled effects of the independent variables (sex, SES, grade, stream and school) on the dependent variables (expectation level, aspiration level, course expectations, academic self-assessment and job intentions). These gamma values are in Table 7; and tables illustrating the effect of independent variables of levels of education expectations and aspirations are in Appendix C.

Gamma values of between .30 and .50 indicate that SES affects each variable, although aspirations are less affected than expectations. The figures in Table 7 also indicate that the relationship of stream with the dependent variables is even stronger, except for aspirations (gamma = .13). Stream influences expectation level most;



TABLE 7

EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ORIENTATIONS BY SEX,  
GRADE, SES, SCHOOL AND STREAM (GAMMA VALUES)

<u>Dependent Variables</u>	<u>Independent Variables</u>				
	Sex	Grade	SES	Stream	School
Expectation Level	.16	.11	.49	.52	.17
Aspiration Level	.14	.03	.34	.13	.26
Course Expectations	-.05	.25	.37	.46	-.07
Academic Self Assessment	.15	.12	.31	.41	-.03
Job Intentions	.12	.06	.46	.45	.10



the gamma relationship of .52 is stronger than that reported for any other combination of an independent variable with a dependent variable, as a glance at Table 7 will verify. In the high stream, 82% of the students expect to go to university but the figure for the low stream is only 34%. (See Appendix C, Table 15) School context has the opposite effect. It is practically unrelated to anything but aspiration level (gamma = .26) and, to a lesser degree, expectation level (gamma = .17). It is to be noted that our prediction that, predominantly, SES would affect expectations, and stream and school the aspirations, is not born out entirely, but the effects of SES and school status lean in the predicted direction. These findings will be explained in more detail later in the chapter, after we have set out more of the relevant empirical information.

Sex has little effect on the dependent variables, as gamma values do not go beyond .16, and all but one of the relations is positive indicating that males tend to have higher aspirations, expectations, academic self-assessment and job intentions. Table 12 (Appendix C) shows that for both expectations and aspirations female students are less oriented to a vocational education than are boys, which is what we might expect, given the structure of post-high school vocational education.

Students in Grades seven and nine differ little in





their aspirations and expectations, the gamma relationships being .03 and .11 respectively. To the extent that there is a difference, Grade seven students have higher aspirations and expectations, which is as we predicted. If, as the literature indicates, there is a tendency for younger students to be more 'unrealistic' and have high aspirations and expectations, this tendency may be offset by the fact that students at this age have not fully internalised the existing social pressures and opportunity structure and, thus, their responses may be more 'randomly' distributed among the three response categories, lowering the normally high values.

The degree of 'unrealism' in matriculation course expectations is rather high for those in medium and low status schools. Table 17 (Appendix C) shows that students in the low school, 61% of whom expect to enter a matriculation course, are being 'unrealistic' because only 28% actually enter a senior matriculation program, by 1967-68 figures.<sup>4</sup> Middle class job intentions also seem to be at a high or 'unrealistic' level: although only 32% of the sample comes from middle class families, 66% intend to enter a middle class occupation. But without a measure of intergenerational social mobility in contemporary Canada, and of job chances for those coming from different schools and streams, it is impossible to discuss this 'unrealism' or optimism in any detail.



To summarise: all but three of the gamma values are positive, indicating relationships in the direction predicted by the hypotheses. The results confirm Hypotheses 1 and 2 that the higher the status of the student, stream or school, the higher the aspirations and expectations. As Hypotheses 5 and 6 predict, individual SES affects expectations more than aspirations, and school status has the opposite effect. Contrary to Hypothesis 6, however, the other contextual variable, stream, affects expectations more than aspirations. The secondary hypotheses regarding the effects of sex and grade were likewise confirmed, although the gamma values are not particularly high in some instances. As predicted, academic self-assessment and job intentions vary in a manner similar to expectations rather than aspirations.

#### Variation in Educational Orientations: Multivariate Analysis

To this point in the discussion, only two-way analyses have been referred to but such results can be misleading because one main effect can be contaminated by another. For example, some of the effect reported for school could be due to differences in SES (as an individual variable), or vice versa. Therefore, up to three control variables were introduced simultaneously: Tables 8 and 9 present the results of this analysis.

Given the size of the sample and our analytic tech-



niques it was not feasible to perform multivariate analysis on the complete distribution of any single dependent variable. Instead, we tested the relative impact of sex, SES, stream and school on orientations toward academic success and middle class jobs, as represented by the following: university expectations, university aspirations, matriculation course expectations, above-average academic self-assessment, a negative orientation toward the school system, and middle class job intentions. Table 8 gives the percentages responding with these orientations for each combination of the three important independent variables, SES, stream and school.

The differences produced by this breakdown are even more obvious than those presented in the previous tables which deal with status variables, not three at a time, but singly (see Appendix C, Tables 13 to 17). Note that 93% of middle class students in the High stream of the High school expect to attend university, whereas the percentages for the Low stream of the Low school are 31% for the middle class and 39% for the working class.

By submitting the figures presented in Table 8 to Coleman's multivariate analysis, measures of relative impact were derived, and these are set out in Table 9. This table shows that 57% of the variation in university expectations is accounted for by SES, school and stream, and most of it, 34%, by stream. That the effect of SES on uni-





TABLE 8

EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ORIENTATIONS  
BY SES, STREAM AND SCHOOL (PERCENTAGES)

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables							
	High School				Low School			
	High Stream		Low Stream		High Stream		Low Stream	
	Middle Class %	Working Class %	Middle Class %	Working Class %	Middle Class %	Working Class %	Middle Class %	Working Class %
University Expectations	93	72	65	39	69	74	31	39
University Aspirations	35	28	42	20	8	14	31	16
Matriculation Course Expectations	87	84	65	39	85	70	46	61
Above Average Academic Self Assessment	42	37	23	17	39	26	39	21
Negative Orientation to School System	9	23	26	29	31	14	31	29
Middle Class Job Intention	87	74	76	49	77	81	62	58
N	69	43	57	142	13	43	13	89





TABLE 9

EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ORIENTATIONS BY  
SEX, SES, STREAM AND SCHOOL (MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS)

<u>Dependent Variables</u>	<u>Independent Variables</u>				
	Sex	SES	Stream	School	Total
University Expectations		.09 .16 .08	.34  .33	.14 .13	.57 .29 .59
University Aspirations		.10 .16 .03	.02 -.04	.14  .13	.26 .12 .25
Matriculation Course Expectations		.07 .15	.29	.03 .13	.39 .28
Above Average Academic Self-Assessment		.10	.11	.02	.23
Negative Orientation to School System		.01	-.10	-.05	-.14
Middle Class Job Intentions		.08	.18	.02	.28



versity expectations jumps to .16 when the stream effect is removed from the calculation, and .18 when the school effect is removed, indicates that the high gamma value of .49 reported for the relationship between SES and expectation level (in Table 7) is contaminated by school and stream status effects.

Aspirations toward university are influenced by school rather than stream but even school accounts for only 14% of the variation. SES, which related most to aspirations in the initial two-way analysis, contributes only 10% to the variation. For both university aspirations and expectations sex is not an important variable, contributing less than 10% to the variation in each case.

Matriculation course expectations, negative orientations to the school system, and middle class job intentions are affected almost solely by stream, but only for matriculation course expectations is this relationship really significant. Those in the High stream are more likely to expect to enter a matriculation course at High school, are less likely to mention poor marks and a dissatisfaction with the school system as a reason for leaving it, and intend to get a middle class job. In the High stream of the High school 87% of the middle class students expect to enter a matriculation course, but for working class students in the Low stream of the same school less than half this proportion have that expectation. The dis-



tribution among students of a negative orientation to the school system is not much affected by any of the independent variables although it is more common among students in Low streams and schools. Only a small number of students mention financial problems as reason for leaving the educational system, so that any meaningful comparison of SES, stream and school in terms of this feature becomes impossible. Middle class job intentions are remarkably common, reaching their highest proportion (87%) for students in the High stream of the High school, but dropping to 49% among working class students in the Low stream in this same school.

Above-average academic self-assessment is more than twice as common among middle class students in the High stream as among working class students in the Low stream, even though all students are comparing themselves with students in their own stream. (The administrator found that this really was the nature of the comparison the students were making). The difference is even more marked among those who placed themselves below average. Only four students in the High stream put themselves in this category, but there were nine cases among Low stream middle class students and forty-eight cases among Low stream working class students. The results demonstrate that even those who are obviously below average in their stream rarely admit this fact if they are of middle class origin, or





part of a High stream. This gives us a glimpse of the manner in which streaming affects the opportunity structure, and hence, the expectations of students.

The results of the multivariate analysis lead to the same conclusions we reached through the initial gamma analysis. It appears, however, that there is some contamination of the SES effect with the school and stream effects, and these interaction effects, though they might be expected, are difficult to interpret from the limited information of a short questionnaire. The percentages in Table 8 show up the great differences in educational orientations due to a combination of SES, stream and school; and how these differences are also reflected in academic self-assessment. There is insufficient evidence to either confirm or reject Hypothesis 9 on the reasons for leaving though the data provides some indication that, as we predicted, a negative orientation to the school system is more common among students in low streams and schools. There were too few cases for a meaningful examination of social differences in financial concern.

#### Combinations of Aspirations with Expectations

This section is of importance for the testing of our model. We have studied how SES, stream and school affect the educational orientations of collectivities; but the weakness in the analysis so far is that educational aspira-



tions and expectations have been studied separately, when our model concerns the various combinations of aspirations with expectations as expressed through individuals. The analyses represented by Tables 10 and 11 do not have this weakness. They show the extent to which SES, school and stream determine the proportion of those with university or matriculation course expectations who also have university aspirations. Two expectation measures were used because this stage of the analysis is of particular theoretical importance, and we are hampered by the small size of the sample (especially for middle class students in the Low school). (One would predict a fair amount of similarity in the variation of the two expectation measures, simply because 76% of those with matriculation course expectations also have university expectations.) By the Coleman technique we computed the partial relationships of SES, stream and school with the two dependent variables and these were significant beyond the .05 level for all but the relationship between school and university aspirations/ matriculation course expectations.

It was found that aspirations (as measured) are lower than expectations and, therefore, variables which raise aspirations should increase the overlap between aspirations and expectations, and variables which raise expectations should reduce the overlap. According to our original hypotheses, SES should, for the most part, affect expecta-



TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE OF THOSE STUDENTS WITH UNIVERSITY EXPECTATIONS  
WHO ALSO HAVE UNIVERSITY ASPIRATIONS BY  
SES, STREAM AND SCHOOL

	<u>Middle Class</u>		<u>Working Class</u>	
	High School	Low School	High School	Low School
<u>Stream</u>				
High	36 (64)	11 (9)	39 (31)	15 (32)
Low	51 (37)	75 (4)	29 (55)	20 (35)

Partial relationships with the dependent variable

SES	=	.18	(p = .005)
Stream	=	-.19	(p = .004)
School	=	.19	(p = .004)



TABLE 11  
PERCENTAGE OF THOSE STUDENTS WITH MATRICULATION COURSE  
EXPECTATIONS WHO ALSO HAVE UNIVERSITY ASPIRATIONS,  
BY SES, STREAM AND SCHOOL

	<u>Middle Class</u>		<u>Working Class</u>	
	High School	Low School	High School	Low School
<u>Stream</u>				
High	35 (60)	9 (11)	28 (36)	13 (30)
Low	43 (37)	50 (6)	24 (55)	19 (54)

Partial relationships with the dependent variable

SES	=	.14	(p = .02)
Stream	=	-.13	(p = .03)
School	=	.10	(p = .08)





tions, while stream and school affect aspirations. Only in the case of school is the relationship in the predicted direction: partial relationships of .19 and .10 (see Tables 10 and 11) indicate that a High school climate raises aspirations more than expectations, increasing the overlap between the two measures. The effect of SES (and this is contrary to what was predicted) is similar. Stream, on the other hand, affects expectations more than aspirations and increases the gap between the two, as indicated by partial relations of -.19 and -.13. An attempt will be made in the next chapter to explain these divergences from the predicted outcome, but we will, for the moment, accept these main effects and show that their mode of operation in the various combinations of social class, stream and school is much as predicted.

In view of the foregoing results we would expect that the overlap of expectations with aspirations would be greatest for middle class students in a Low stream of a High school. The combination of Low stream with middle class background (or High school) should produce overlap greater than the average. The results indicate that the middle class-High school-Low stream combination, produces an overlap which is second only to the middle class-Low school-Low stream combination, and this departure from the prediction may be explained by the low cell frequencies (four and six students in Tables 10 and 11) exhibited by



the latter combination. The converse of the foregoing prediction is that the greatest divergence between aspirations and expectations should be present when High stream is combined with Low SES and/or Low school. With the overlap between expectations and aspirations represented by values of 11%, 39%, and 15% (Table 10) and 9%, 28% and 13% (Table 11) it is evident that these combinations do produce the greatest difference between educational expectations and aspirations. The difference in overlaps between what we have found to be the two polar combinations -- middle class-High school-Low stream and working class-Low school-High stream -- is quite substantial, being 36% (for university aspirations/university expectations) and 30% (for university aspirations/matriculation course expectations).

There are two combinations of SES, stream and school which have yet to be discussed: the middle class-High school-High stream and the working class-Low school-Low stream combinations, between which differences in aspirations and expectations (taken singly) are very marked (see Table 8). It could be predicted that, for the first combination, SES and school factors reinforce each other to raise aspirations and increase the degree to which they overlap with expectations. The opposite, a divergence between expectations and aspirations, should occur for the working class-Low school-Low stream combination. Our verification of this prediction fits the projection of Perrucci,



based on Coleman's research on the anti-intellectual aspects of the adolescent subculture, which reads:

Thus, the middle class boy can devalue intellectual pursuits without impairing his desire to go to college (for he may find college and high school environments to be quite similar) but the lower class youth who devalues intellectual pursuits is too apt to find ready sources of support and reinforcement for devaluing education.<sup>5</sup>

Turning this around we could project that middle class students in high school climates are "too apt to find ready sources of support and reinforcement for valuing education."

After the multivariate analysis we must question whether Hypothesis 5 -- that SES (as an individual variable) affects expectations more than aspirations -- is, in fact, correct. Gamma values indicated that the hypothesis was correct, but the more involved analysis of the university aspiration-expectation combinations (though with a necessarily reduced sample) produced the opposite conclusion. Part of the problem is that SES effects may interact substantially with those produced by stream and school. It is clear that the distinction between individual and contextual variables is no longer meaningful for our problem; and because the relevant hypotheses (5 and 6) are not confirmed, Hypotheses 7 and 8 must also be rejected in their present form.





## Summary and Conclusions

Hypotheses 1 and 2 on the positive relationship between status and educational aspirations and expectations are generally confirmed; and multivariate analysis shows that high SES, stream and school contribute independently to raising aspirations and expectations; and, as expected, academic self-assessment and job intentions vary like educational expectations.

Hypotheses 3, 4, 5, and 6 relate to the four cells (or adaptation types) set out in the model (see Figure 1). Hypothesis 3 (which refers to cell 1, the stable middle class or the successfully-aspiring working class adaptation) and Hypothesis 4 (cell 4, or the stable working class adaptation) were confirmed by the tables, gamma analysis and multivariate analysis. Essentially, they mean that a high status combination (of SES, stream and school) results in high aspirations and expectations; and a low status combination produces the opposite. Hypotheses 5 and 6, critical to our model, were not confirmed: only the school effect (one of the contextual effects) operated as predicted. School affects aspirations rather than expectations, stream does the opposite, and SES affects both aspirations and expectations. A modified version of the original model (set out in Figure 1), which takes into account the results of our study, is presented in Figure 2.

Hypothesis 9, dealing with the reasons for leaving



FIGURE II

THE SOCIAL BASES OF VARIOUS COMBINATIONS OF  
EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS WITH EXPECTATIONS (REVISED)

	<u>High Expectations</u>	<u>Low Expectations</u>
High Aspirations	-high individual, stream or school SES or academic status  1	-low stream SES or academic status -high school SES or academic status  2
Low Aspirations	-high stream SES or academic status -low school SES or academic status  3	-low individual stream or school SES or academic status  4



school, was partially confirmed, and the other secondary hypotheses, predicting high aspirations and expectations for boys (rather than girls) and grade seven students (rather than grade nine), were also confirmed. Educational expectations and job intentions reflected a high degree of optimism or 'unrealism' on the part of the students.

The next chapter will attempt to explain these results and the new, revised model.



Footnotes

1. In Table 4 the stanine scores for Edmonton schools may not be directly comparable with those of the other schools because of the various, complex adjustments made on the basis of the original distribution of raw scores. However, for our very general comparisons they should be sufficient.
2. Stephenson, op. cit., p. 204.
3. Robert Perrucci, "Education, Stratification, and Mobility," in Donald A. Hansen and Joel E. Gerstl, On Education -- Sociological Perspectives, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967, p. 126.
4. However, these expectations may be contaminated by the variation in course structures at the senior high schools fed by the junior high schools in the sample. For instance, the existence and structure of junior and vocational matriculation courses varies between schools.
5. Perrucci, ibid., pp. 138-139.





## CHAPTER FIVE

### IMPLICATIONS: THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL

#### Social Class, Streaming and the School

The results indicate that our predictions of the effect of SES, stream and school, which were based on Stephenson's work, are only partially born out. Only the school effect, influencing aspirations more than expectations, is as we predicted: each school or neighbourhood develops its own standards of success, according to its SES and academic status composition.

SES affects neither aspirations nor expectations alone: Stephenson believed that only expectations would be affected. This difference may be explained by questioning the empirical basis for Stephenson's assertion, as Perrucci has done.

His [Stephenson's] data, however, do not support his assertion that 'aspirations are relatively unaffected by class', since there was a marked decline in occupational aspirations with lower levels of the occupational hierarchy.<sup>1</sup>

Retrospectively, we do not think that it is unreasonable to expect individual SES to affect both opportunity structures and success goals; and Perrucci states:

The main factor in the development of ascribed advantages is the institution of the family,



which transmits greater or lesser opportunity to attain access to highly rewarded positions. The family also shapes the orientation of its members toward an existing opportunity structure.<sup>2</sup>

Kahl also points out that the family shapes success goals.

...the major determining factor [of college aspirations] is the attitude of parents regarding the importance of college for occupational success and the importance of occupational success for personal happiness.<sup>3</sup>

Porter thinks that the family plays the greatest role in inculcating cultural values and norms relating to education and mobility; and that 'structural' aspects (c.f. opportunity structure) can be attributed to such factors as streaming and tracking.<sup>4</sup> It is quite in accord with sociological theory to expect that a child cannot go through fourteen or fifteen years of life in a family without internalising some of the success goals which parents express because of their social class.

Porter's statement on the effect of streaming fits our results; because, contrary to our predictions, streaming affects expectations rather than aspirations. A subculture, as we use the concept, must contain an aspirational component, and not just an expectation component. This means that if subcultures are formed in the school or community, they are not produced by the streaming process, but rather by factors which operate at the level of the school and community, interacting with individual SES characteristics. It may not, however, be fruitful to



generalise from this to all schools because other studies have shown that boys of this age can form two or more stream-based cultures within the school.<sup>5</sup> But from the questionnaire results it is evident that such 'behaviour autonomy' (to use the term of Clark and Wenninger) does not show itself in our sample of schools. This conclusion is confirmed by interviews the author had with principals and guidance officers: all said that there was no evidence of clearly separate groups or cliques being formed by particular SES categories or streams.

It appears that streaming provides the student with a clear conception of what he thinks are his chances (or his educational opportunity structure). It is impressed upon the low stream student, whatever his success goals may be, that he is at the bottom of the ladder of academic ability and must, therefore, expect to drop out of school early. Students who perform poorly are usually aware of their poor educational life chances, and their presence in a class of thirty to forty others in a similar predicament can only reinforce this awareness: our data on academic self-assessment provides further evidence for this conclusion. Students in low streams, especially those from the working class, are more likely to consider themselves below average, (compared with others in their stream), which indicates that they have internalised a low self-evaluation that even students in high streams who are definitely below





average (for their stream) do not show. In low streams the students' initially poor self-evaluations are reinforced by similar evaluations which are conferred upon them by their class-mates, students in high streams, and teachers.

What is the theoretical and practical importance of these conclusions for the educational system and society? The rest of the chapter will deal with this question.

### Educational Orientations and Skilled Manpower

A much stressed problem in North America today is the shortage of skilled manpower in key sectors of the economy.<sup>6</sup> The results from our junior high school cohort lead us to believe that this is not a problem of low educational expectations and aspirations: of the total sample 57% expect to go to university and 66% intend to enter the middle class (usually professional occupations). Similar results were obtained in Coleman's recent study in the United States, using a large national sample; 57% of all twelfth grade students aspire to university and 35% are oriented to professional occupations (which at this time constitute a mere 13% of the U.S. labour force).<sup>7</sup> Coleman's research also indicates that students have a high academic self-assessment of themselves: only 4% thought they were below average for their grade. It is clear that in Edmonton and North America at this time education is highly



valued by all classes, although many working class people may be disenchanted with the present educational system. They may have other priorities, such as earning money and becoming independent, which they see as incompatible with aspiring to remain in the school system as it is presently constituted. This latter point is crucial because we have not been studying educational aspirations, per se, but educational aspirations in the context of the existing educational system in the existing society. If working class students could stay in the educational system without being financially disadvantaged (compared with workers of a similar age) they might aspire to higher levels of education than they do now.

The pressure of students wishing to get into institutions of higher education (e.g. in Alberta) is becoming so great that there is talk of excluding some students who are now qualified for university work. Thus, if indeed there is a problem of training enough people to operate the technical machinery of this complex industrial society it is not basically one of poor motivation. More significantly, it is a matter of under-financing of universities and university students.

Given the high aspirations and expectations of all social classes in all schools it can be said that the main type of working class response to the educational system is "aspiring, but potentially conflicting": many working



class students will never reach the educational levels they expect and aspire to reach. These students are going to feel frustrated in a society which our educational aspiration data indicates is based mainly in 'prestige identification' with the educational values of the dominant society, rather than 'class consciousness' (and a working class subculture with its own educational values). Although educational aspirations are lower in working class than in middle class communities it must be remembered that in all the Edmonton schools studied the aspirations were rather high.

#### The Two Cultures: Middle Class versus Working Class

We cannot distinguish between a working class subculture and a dominant middle class culture from these data alone: for this we must go to the other literature on class values and the school system, and the changes which are taking place in modern society. Goldthorpe and Lockwood, who have done a lot of research in this area, contrast working class culture to middle class culture. Middle class culture, they write, is typified by its emphasis on individualism (concern with one's own success), sacrifice, and obedience to those in authority (both in the school and in the society).<sup>8</sup> This 'protestant ethic' combination is implicitly or explicitly recognised in much sociological writing. Some of its ramifications in





the school system have been stated in extreme fashion in Jerry Farber's widely published essay, Student as Nigger.<sup>9</sup> Working class people, on the contrary, have more concern for the collective, are more equalitarian, and are less inclined to sacrifice immediate concerns to get ahead, i.e., to gain entrance to the middle class. The comments of other writers are similar:

A primary working class emotion is solidarity, bred out of shared past adversity.<sup>10</sup>

...[there is] a high evaluation of the working class style of life on solidarity and collective action....<sup>11</sup>

This means, says Porter, that any significant social mobility by working class people must take the form of collective mobility: The 'solution', therefore, lies with working class community action. Our evidence does indeed suggest that the difference between the working class and the middle class contains a strong community factor; which is a function of the community of students in the schools and/or the community in which the school is situated (i.e. the neighbourhood).

What are the conditions under which there will be working class community action directed toward raising educational aspirations and expectations? Marsden suggests that this is unlikely to happen if both the school system and the society continue to reflect middle class values.

Parents don't happen to share the dominant society ideals and don't try to push their





child 'up' any ladder; hence they suggest the whole matter of upward mobility is beyond their control....<sup>12</sup>

Marsden and others have shown that working class mothers are less concerned about the school their child attends, and participate less in its activities. Mabey explains this lack of involvement on the part of the working class student and his parents:

But why should they [take these opportunities] when these opportunities are offered fixed securely inside a middle class frame? Why should a working class father feel enthusiastic about an educational system that treats his breadwinning skill as a poor option for the lowest streams?<sup>13</sup>

This excerpt illustrates the links between the middle class school, middle class society, and the streaming system. Streaming and tracking is usually justified in middle class terms: some students have brains and some do not; or some are suited for one type of job and some for another; and our data on educational expectations and academic self-assessment indicates that streaming helps to make sure students believe this. That students should go forward together and get a full and rounded education is a concept largely foreign to the middle class.<sup>14</sup> Instead, there is a self-fulfilling prophesy at work: advocates of streaming predict that low stream students will achieve poorly (and that they will expect this) and the streaming system makes sure that this happens.<sup>15</sup>



## The Changing Society: Class and the School System

Our society, and its school system, is changing rapidly. The occupational and class structure is changing, with the result that more and more students are going on through the educational system to university level. The old middle class and working class division is breaking down: middle class people are tending to become salaried employees in large production units, and are forming into unions; and working class people are becoming more affluent, with 'middle class' consumption patterns. Thus, there is much talk of the middle class becoming the 'new working class' and working class people the 'new middle class' (I am using these terms as Goldthorpe and Lockwood use them.).

It is the view of Mandel that it is the working class, and not the middle class, which is becoming enlarged by this process.

We could cite offhand a series of striking facts: reduced wage differentials between white-collar and manual workers, which is a universal trend in the West; increased unionization and union militancy for these 'new' layers, which is equally universal (in Brussels as in New York, schoolteachers, electricians, telephone and telegraph workers have been among the militant trade unionists in the past five years); rising similarities of consumption, of social status and environment of these layers; growing similarity of working conditions, i.e., growing similarity of monotonous, mechanised, uncreative, nerve-wracking and stultifying work in factory, bank, bus, public administration, departmental stores and airplanes.

If we examine the long-term trend there is no doubt that the process is one of growing homogeneity and not of growing heterogeneity



of the proletariat. The difference in income, consumption and status between an unskilled laborer and a bank clerk or high-school teacher is today incommensurably smaller than it was fifty or a hundred years ago.<sup>16</sup>

It follows from the foregoing that the distinction between middle class (professional and managerial) and working class (white and blue collar workers), which was used in the study, might be outdated. The intentions of many working class students to enter professional occupations (often teachers, technicians and scientists) may not, after all, represent a desire to leave their class, or the internalisation of middle class job prestige categories because most professional jobs can now be defined as working class. Increasingly, such aspirations may be representative, not of 'prestige identification', but 'class consciousness'. Similarly, the very distinction between middle class and working class students may be misleading; and perhaps this is one reason why the differences between working class students and middle class students are not all that great.

Changes in the class structure are accompanied by changes in the educational system and the attitude of working class people toward it. The high school and university population explosion means that more and more working class children are being educated, and that the university is becoming a training ground for 'new' working class occupations: it is much less an elite institution, foreign





to working class youth.

But was it not indicated previously that schools and universities are institutions which are run along middle class lines: i.e., anti-democratic institutions (where power and authority are respected) requiring individualism and self-sacrifice?<sup>17</sup> This is true, but the changes now taking place (largely because of pressure from students and faculty) are tending to move the education system into accord with working class values. The following list of some familiar, and current, student and faculty demands verify this point. They are demanding:

- the abolition of unnecessarily restrictive regulations,
- open decision-making with the co-operative participation of students and faculty,
- non-grading and non-streaming in elementary and high schools,
- a learning process with more dialogue between students and faculty,
- and universal accessibility, including the payment of stipends to students so that education ceases to involve economic sacrifice.

This trend is also reflected in a recent Ontario Government publication, the Hall-Dennis Report. This report recommends (among other things) the abolition of fees for the first year of university study, the relaxation of the 'authoritarian atmosphere' in the schools, co-operation



and democracy, and the avoidance of streaming and early tracking.<sup>18</sup>

### Schools and the Community

It was noted previously that working class parents are less involved in the running of the school system, as presently constituted, than middle class parents. Recent developments, however, indicate that this is not a generalisation which fits all school systems at all times. In North America today some communities which are among the most desirous of becoming involved in the running of the schools are the most working class and most educationally disadvantaged communities, the black ghetto communities in the United States. These are communities in which, unlike Edmonton, 'behaviour autonomy' from the more middle class communities of the city is striking: there is a community identity which is black and working class. They are not anti-education: the community is against the present education system, only insofar as it is a white middle class institution, which fails to relate to their needs, and fails to expose the social and historical roots of black underprivilege.<sup>19</sup>

Developments in New York black community schools during the 1968 teachers' strike provide an indication of the changes which can take place. Through the harmonious co-operation of parents, students, and anti-strike teachers,



many schools stayed open during the strike. The experiment showed that black working class students can become very interested in education provided the system operates in a co-operative and egalitarian manner, and the educational content is seen as relevant to black working class concerns and black culture. The following two excerpts reflect these developments.

The educational method being introduced by the Ocean Hill-Brownsville governing board -- coupled with genuine teaching interest -- are proving that children of the poor can, that they want to, and that their parents are interested in their childrens' education.<sup>20</sup>

In the open schools, elements of basic humanity returned. Children were free to come and go in the halls without written passes. Parents and non-striking teachers found themselves natural allies. Teachers and students ate together; acting principals stopped using bullhorns to herd students through lunchrooms and play yards. Music played, and people laughed.<sup>21</sup>

The trend toward an educational system relevant to the working class is taking place not only through collective action inside schools, but also at the community level. Our data represents the present state of both school and community pressures on students' aspirations and expectations in one area. For Edmonton, school pressures and community pressures may be analytically distinct because the community may have little direct influence on the running of the school (but the school may, in some ways, represent a miniature version of the community). The community factor is very important because unless the community (and





especially the community of parents) relates to and legitimises the educational system it is unlikely that the relatively low aspirations of working class students will be raised. Attitudes in the community affect those of individual parents: the individual SES effect is not something residual, immune to change; if the educational attitudes and ethics of the community change then changes in the effects of individual SES must follow and vice versa. If the working class community becomes deeply involved in the educational system then the individual parents and students will tend to develop higher educational aspirations and expectations.

This material fits our model, which was modified to account for the empirical results (see Figure 2). The discussion of the involvement of an essentially working class community in the educational system, shows us that Miller's stable lower class adaptation is not the only working class cultural response possible. Such a response occurs, as was stated in Chapter 1, when working class success goals are developed to fit working class opportunity structures in a middle class society. They represent, as Perrucci puts it, explanations for one's less favoured state which do not "challenge the overall legitimacy of the existing institutional structure."

There are wide ranges of adaptations available for the expression of dissatisfaction that





serves to take the strain off the institutional structure. These may include self-blame, forms of psychological withdrawal, viewing one's position as temporary transferring aspirations to children, emphasis of the importance of 'luck' and 'chance' in human affairs, adopting fatalistic ideologies, becoming involved in deviant sub-groups, and scapegoating and prejudice as forms of blaming others for one's failings.<sup>22</sup>

This stable working class adaptation (cell 4 in Figure 2) and the stable middle class adaptation (cell 1) represent the two typical polar types in a middle class society which is highly stratified in terms of social class culture, school and stream: consequently the middle class has high aspirations and expectations and the working class low aspirations and expectations.

Our questionnaire evidence, and other material presented, point out a third, and rather common, working class adaptation: an aspiring, but conflicted, response where high aspirations are combined with low expectations. (see Figure 2, cell 2) There is an incongruence between the high aspirations which are in evidence in the middle class and, to a lesser degree, in the working class, and the low expectations (reflecting poor opportunity structures) of those in the lower streams. As the educational aspirations of working class people rise, the proportion of aspiring, but conflicted, working class students grows, and the prominence of the stable working class adaptation declines. In North America this contradiction between the



community (with its high aspirations) and the school system (accompanied by built-in low expectations) has reached explosive proportions in some New York working class communities, with the community and students arrayed against the school officialdom. Because the school has almost no control over aspirations, the expectation-lowering function which it serves for many students (through streaming and tracking) only exacerbates the contradiction between aspirations and expectations. Assuming that aspirations are not about to decline (and the community effect on them will remain) it may be that the only solution lies in structural changes in the school system.

It must be recognised that the working class can develop its own distinctive set of educational success goals, whose terms of reference are not those of middle class society. The developmental sequence may be like this: Miller's aspiring, but conflicted, lower class response<sup>23</sup> permeates the whole working class community and, although aspirations are initially formulated in terms of middle class success goals, the growing collective frustration with the lack of opportunity may result in a collective cultural rejection of these middle class goals, and a reformulation of the working class vision of its opportunity structure, in terms which require a fundamental change in the school system. Educational success goals remain, but they are now embedded within a working class



cultural framework.

### The Two Solutions

Working class success goals can be raised in two completely different social contexts. The first flows naturally from the results of the questionnaire study: working class students in middle class schools (communities) will adapt to these schools by developing high educational aspirations (which are defined in middle class terms).

The second 'solution' follows from the investigation of the differences between middle class and working class cultures, the changing school system and society, and the experience of community control. Working class students in strongly working class communities may develop a desire for education (but not the standard middle class educational success goals) which greatly exceeds the chances open to them in the middle class school system, thus forcing a collective attempt to change this system to one which fits working class educational and cultural needs. This struggle and the resultant changes may raise educational aspirations and expectations significantly.

The results from our research lead us to believe that if all communities were heterogeneous (regarding social class) the working class students would have higher educational aspirations than they would in homogeneous





working class communities; but the data also indicate that those of working class parentage would retain lower expectations and aspirations, than those of middle class parentage, even in such heterogeneous schools. It may be that the only 'permanent solution' to the problem of working class disadvantage lies with structural change in some aspects of the educational system and society; and New York evidence suggests that strongly working class communities can play a vanguard role in bringing about such changes.

### Conclusion

By showing us that the problem of working class disadvantage remains unsolved within a middle class educational framework, our study reinforces the growing understanding that the only lasting solution to the problem lies with an essentially working class educational system.

### Implications for Further Research

To make this kind of empirical questionnaire meaningful, research in more depth is needed. Participant observer studies within different communities, schools and streams are required to complement and correct the rather abstracted empiricism of this study.

Of particular interest for in depth investigation are the ways in which the school system (and particularly



the streaming system) differentially determines the self-concept of students from different social classes, as indicated by our data on expectations and academic self-assessment. This is an intriguing area of future research for those interested in the way social class operates through educational structures. It would also be fruitful to extend investigation of the incongruence between aspirations and opportunity structures into other areas, such as delinquency and the sociology of work, to find out if the processes at work are similar to those found in the education system.



Footnotes

1. Robert Perrucci, op. cit., p. 121.
2. Perrucci, Ibid., p. 108.
3. Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winstone, 1960, pp. 287-288.
4. John Porter, "Mobility, Stratification and Highly Qualified Manpower," Paper for the Cornell Conference on Human Mobility, 1968, pp. 22-23.
5. Hargreaves studied Fourth Formers (i.e. Grade Eight or Nine students in North America) in a Secondary Modern Boys' School in England, uncovering two sub-cultures: the A and B streams constituted one, and the C and D streams the other. The students in the C and D streams disliked school, were more rebellious and did not aspire to higher education. David H. Hargreaves, Social Relations in a Secondary School, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967.
6. Porter, op. cit.
7. James S. Coleman et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity, Washington: U.S. Office of Health, Education and Welfare, 1966, pp. 280-290.
8. John H. Goldthorpe and David Lockwood, "Affluence and the British Class Structure", The Sociological Review, 11 (July, 1963), pp. 133-163.
9. Jerry Farber, "Student as Nigger", Waterloo: The Ontarion, October 4, 1968, pp. 10-11.
10. Dennis Marsden, "School, Class, and the Parents' Dilemma", in Richard Mabey (ed.), Class, London: Bland, 1967, p. 45.
11. Porter, op. cit.
12. Marsden, op. cit., p. 45.
13. Richard Mabey, "Introduction", in Richard Mabey (ed.) Class, London: Bland, 1967, p. 14.
14. The middle class as used here is only an ideal type because, as we indicated in the introduction, the middle class today has much in common with the working class, and sections of the middle class are being described as the 'new working class.'





15. The importance of self-prophetic expectations on students intellectual behaviour is discussed in a recent paper by Rosenthal and Jacobson, "Self-Fulfilling Prophecies in the Classroom: Teachers' Expectations as Unintended Determinants of Pupils Intellectual Competence," in Martin Deutsch et. al. (eds.), Social Class, Race and Psychological Development, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968, pp. 219-253.
16. Ernest Mandel, "Workers Under Neo-Capitalism," International Socialist Review, 29 (Nov.-Dec., 1968), p. 8.
17. Much debate has taken place over the question of the social bases of authoritarianism. Lipset sees authoritarian features in the working class, but others such as Miller and Riessman, and Zeitlen have criticised Lipset on this point. My comments, which draw on the material presented in Goldthorpe and Lockwood, are inevitably somewhat speculative in this area. See S.M. Lipset, Political Man, New York: Doubleday, 1960, pp. 87-126; S.M. Miller and Frank Riessman, "Working-Class Authoritarianism: A Critique of Lipset," British Journal of Sociology, 12 (September, 1961), pp. 263-276; and Maurice Zeitlin, Revolutionary Politics and the Cuban Working Class, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967, pp. 242-276.
18. Report of the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario, Living and Learning, Toronto: Ontario Department of Education, 1968, p. 83, p. 126, p. 136, p. 171.
19. The responses of black children to a white environment (e.g. the classroom situation) are similar to those of working class children to a middle class school environment. The fact that most black people are working class, and most classrooms are white and middle class, only exacerbates their problem. One writer describes a study where the poor opportunity structures of black students produces an adaptation similar to the stable working class adaptation described in the model: "Negro children in racially mixed classrooms accepted white prestige, but increasingly withdrew to their own group as a response to white rejection." (Harold Proshansky and Peggy Newton, "The Nature and Meaning of Negro Self-Identity," in Deutsch et. al. (eds.), op. cit., p. 211.)
20. Marrel Scholl, "New York Shutdown Stalemate Continues", The Militant, 32 (November 15, 1968), p. 8.





21. Margie Stamberg, "NY Schools Open, But Parents Angry", The Guardian, 21 (November 30, 1968), p. 6.
22. Perrucci, op. cit., p. 109.
23. Miller, op. cit., pp. 5-19.



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# APPENDIX A

## JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Keith Locke  
University of Alberta

### ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS

Circle the appropriate number

NOTE: On this page, page one, questions 2 and 3 ask you what you expect to do, and questions 4 and 5 ask you what you would do if you were free to do what-ever you wanted.

1. Are you
 

A boy?	. . . .	1
A girl?	. . . .	2
  
2. After Grade Nine do you expect to:
 

a. leave school altogether and get a job?	. . . .	1
b. go to high school and take a <u>matriculation</u> course?	. . . .	2
c. go to high school and take a <u>general</u> course	. . . .	3
d. go to high school and take a <u>commercial</u> course?	. . . .	4
e. go to high school and take a <u>vocational</u> course?	. . . .	5
  
3. How far do you expect to go in the educational system?
 

a. Grade 9	. . . .	1
b. Grade 10	. . . .	2
c. Grade 11	. . . .	3
d. Grade 12	. . . .	4
e. Institute of Technology (NAIT) or Business College	. . . .	5
f. University	. . . .	6
  
4. If you were free to do whatever you wanted after Grade Nine would you:
 

a. leave school altogether and get a job?	. . . .	1
b. go to high school and take a <u>matricula-tion</u> course?	. . . .	2
c. go to high school and take a <u>general</u> course?	. . . .	3
d. go to high school and take a <u>commercial</u> course?	. . . .	4
e. go to high school and take a <u>vocational</u> course?	. . . .	5



5. If you were free to do whatever you wanted  
how far would you go in the educational  
system?

- |   |         |   |
|---|---------|---|
| a. Grade 9  | . . . . | 1 |
| b. Grade 10   | . . . . | 2 |
| c. Grade 11   | . . . . | 3 |
| d. Grade 12   | . . . . | 4 |
| e. Institute of<br>Technology (NAIT)<br>or Business College | . . . . | 5 |
| f. University   | . . . . | 6 |

7. When you eventually leave the educational system, what  
do you think your main reason for doing so will be?

What are some other reasons which may make you decide  
to leave?

8. What job or occupation do you intend to take up?

Briefly describe the type of work you will do in this  
job?

9. What level of education do you need today  
to get a reasonable job?

- |   |         |   |
|---|---------|---|
| a. Grade 9  | . . . . | 1 |
| b. Grade 10   | . . . . | 2 |
| c. Grade 11   | . . . . | 3 |
| d. Grade 12   | . . . . | 4 |
| e. Institute of<br>Technology (NAIT)<br>or Business College | . . . . | 5 |
| f. University   | . . . . | 6 |



10. Comparing your school-work with the rest of your class, would you say that you were:
- a. Above average . . . . 1
  - b. Average . . . . 2
  - c. Below average . . . . 3
11. What is the highest level of education reached by your father?
- a. Didn't reach high school . . . . 1
  - b. Some high school . . . . 2
  - c. High school grad. . . . 3
  - d. Technical school or Business College . . . . 4
  - e. Some University. . . . 5
  - f. University grad. . . . 6
12. What is your father's job or occupation?

Briefly describe what your father does when he is at work?

13. On the first page, you indicated how far you expect to go in the educational system. Do your parents expect you to go:
- a. further than you yourself expect to go . . . . 1
  - b. about as far as you yourself expect to go . . . . 2
  - c. not as far as you yourself expect to go . . . . 3
14. On the first page you indicated how far in the educational system you would go if you were free to do whatever you wanted. In this situation how far would your parents like you to go?
- a. further than you yourself would like to go . . . . 1
  - b. about as far as you yourself would like to go . . . . 2
  - c. not as far as you yourself would like to go . . . . 3





## APPENDIX B

## VERBAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR FILLING OUT THE QUESTIONNAIRE

This is a short questionnaire which is concerned mainly with attitudes towards your educational future. It is part of some research I am doing at the university. It is not a test. There are no right and wrong answers. All I want to find out are the different ideas and attitudes you have regarding these questions.

The questionnaire is anonymous, which means that you do not need to put your name on the top. So I don't know which questionnaire belongs to which person, so you can be totally open and honest in your answers. However I do want you to put your class number on the top. I believe it is . . . . Please do that now (Pause).

Please read each question very carefully and answer all questions. If you are unsure of any question, or if you feel you don't have enough information to answer it (a question), answer it regardless, as best you can. You can put a question mark beside your answer if you are unsure. You will notice that most of the questions are followed by a series of possible answers, and to the right of each possible answer is a number. I want you to circle the number to the right of the answer which you think is most appropriate in your case. Circle one number only for each such question. You may not agree entirely with any



of the answers provided but please circle the number to the right of one answer - that which comes closest to what you are thinking.

You will notice on the first page that there are two types of questions: the first, represented by questions 2 and 3, ask you what you expect to do in the educational system; the second, as represented by questions 3 and 4, ask you what you would do if you were free to do whatever you wanted - that is, if there were no restrictions. This distinction might not be clear to you immediately so I will give you an example. For instance, many of you here like football and, if you were free to do whatever you wanted, you would be in the Edmonton Eskimos. However, many of those same people, looking at their present situation and football ability would not expect to ever be in the Edmonton Eskimos. This would be particularly true for girls because however much a girl would like to be in the Edmonton Eskimos I don't think she would ever expect to make the team. Just to make sure you are clear on this distinction read over page one before you begin answering the questionnaire - and then go back and answer the whole questionnaire. Thank you.



## APPENDIX C

### ANCILLARY TABLES



TABLE 12

PERCENTAGES EXPECTING AND ASPIRING TO EACH EDUCATIONAL LEVEL BY SEX

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Expectations</u>			<u>Aspirations</u>		
	High School	Tech.or Business College	Univ. Total	High School	Tech.or Business College	Univ. Total
Female	31	14	55 100 (239)	64	13	23 100 (239)
Male	<u>16</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>59</u> 100 (250)	<u>53</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>24</u> 100 (251)
Total	24	20	57 100 (489)	58	18	24 100 (490)

Gamma = .16

Gamma = .16

NOTE: In Tables 12 to 16 aspirations are lower than expectations because of the nature of the questions used. See the discussion on page 54.





TABLE 13

PERCENTAGES EXPECTING AND ASPIRING TO EACH EDUCATIONAL LEVEL BY GRADE

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Expectations</u>			<u>Aspirations</u>		
	High School	Tech.or Business College	Univ. Total	High School	Tech.or Business College	Univ. Total
Nine	24	23	53	59	20	21
Seven	<u>23</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>26</u>
Total	24	20	57	58	18	24
			100	(231)		100
			100	(258)		100
			100	(489)		100
						(231)
						(259)
						(490)

Gamma = .11

Gamma = .03



TABLE 14

PERCENTAGES EXPECTING AND ASPIRING TO EACH EDUCATIONAL LEVEL BY SES

<u>SES</u>	<u>Expectations</u>			<u>Aspirations</u>		
	High School	Tech.or Business College	Univ. Total	High School	Tech.or Business College	Univ. Total
Working Class	29	23	48	64	17	19
			100	(317)		100
						(318)
Middle Class	<u>11</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>35</u>
			100	(152)		100
						(152)
Total	23	20	57	58	18	24
			100	(469)		100
						(470)

Gamma = 0.49

Gamma = 0.35



TABLE 15

PERCENTAGE EXPECTING AND ASPIRING TO EACH EDUCATIONAL LEVEL BY STREAM

<u>Stream</u>	<u>Expectations</u>			<u>Aspirations</u>		
	High School	Tech.or Business College	Univ. Total	High School	Tech. or Business College	Univ. Total
Low	39	27	34 100 (153)	64	21	15 100 (154)
Medium	23	25	52 100 (165)	57	13	30 100 (165)
High	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>82</u> 100 (171)	<u>54</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>25</u> 100 (171)
Total	23	20	57 100 (489)	58	18	24 100 (490)

Gamma = 0.52

Gamma = 0.13





TABLE 16

PERCENTAGE EXPECTING AND ASPIRING TO EACH EDUCATIONAL LEVEL BY SCHOOL

<u>School</u>	<u>Expectations</u>				<u>Aspirations</u>			
	High School	Tech.or Business College	Univ.	Total	High School	Tech.or Business College	Univ.	Total
Low	30	19	51	100 (162)	72	13	15	100 (162)
Medium	23	19	58	100 (163)	55	18	27	100 (163)
High	<u>17</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>100</u> (164)	<u>49</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>100</u> (165)
Total	23	20	57	100 (489)	58	18	24	100 (490)

Gamma = .17

Gamma = 0.26



TABLE 17

MATRICULATION COURSE EXPECTATIONS COMPARED  
WITH ACTUAL NUMBERS OF SENIOR MATRICULATION STUDENTS

<u>School</u>	Matriculation Course Expectations	Students in 1967/68 Senior Matriculation Program
	%	%
High	59 (165)	61 (599) *
Medium	61 (163)	40 (168)
Low	61 (162)	28 (110)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	61 (490)	

\*Includes all students entering Ross Shephard Composite High School, and not just those from Westminster Junior High School.











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